/115 cont./

101 the language of the Waika, Shidishana, or Shamatairi, therefore the neighboring Indians as well.

Thus the term "Yanoama" refers to the cultural and linguistic identity; it does not have the least political aspect. There is no tribe of the Yanoama, nor is there any tribe of the Waika, the Shidishana, or the Shamatairi. At most one can speak of the "people"; but one must bear in mind that there is no institution, no office, that is representative of this people. Also the cognizance of this term in the thinking of the natives /116/ remains general and therefore inevitably vague, parallel to the small amount of geographical knowledge, which is limited to what they themselves have traversed, that is, as a rule, to the circle of the nearest villages, which are about one to two days' journey away from one's own.
101 Geopolitical thought, which would find expression in a more
621 extensive political organization, is unknown to the Yanoama; their conceptual world revolves around the village.

The village is the unit in which one thinks and after which one names himself: when questioned a Waika will never answer that he is a Waika or a Yanoama, but rather will give his village name, say, "Bolitaotedi," whereby "tedi" (village), like the Spanish "pueblo," refers less to the settlement and more to the
829 people who live in it. It seems obvious that one is a Waika, for the slight contact with civilization has not yet led in their thinking to distinguishing their own culture from that of foreigners; the foreigner has remained an individual guest with peculiar habits and has not yet become the representative of a large, strange
101 world. It is not obvious, however, to which village one belongs;
621 village membership is the decisive political and sociological characteristic of the individual.

361 Externally the village is a clearing in the virgin forest, usually oval in ground plan, with a large diameter from 30 to 100 meters;
[162] the houses line the edge of this clearing. On the average a village is inhabited by about 100 persons. The villages of the Shamatairi south of the Orinoco, however, are much larger; according to our

/121 cont./

166 Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each
221 other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism
241 of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today
182 as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun planting, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

162 The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually
621 made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new
182 plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the
174 working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

105 Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social
621 units of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural
182

/3 cont./

136 e) Caymans: jacaretinga or jacaré-de-óculos (Caiman sclerpos Schneid.), etc.

f) Fish: aracu (Leporinus copelandi Steind.), piranha (Pygocentrus sp. and Serrasalmus sp.), pirarucu (largest fresh-water fish, reaches a length of over three meters; belongs to the family of the bone-tongues (Osteoglossidae). The hard tongue serves as a grater for Indians and whites), piraíba (Brachyplatystoma filamentosa), surubim (Platystoma sp.), jandiá (Sciluridae sp.), mandi (Rhamdia sp.), curimatã (Prochilodus sp.), pescada (Gadus sp.), dourado (Salminus brevidens), tambaquí (Characinidae sp.), mandubi (Auchenipteridae sp.), anujã (Trachycoristes sp.), cuiúcuiú (Oxidorus niger Vall.), etc.

There are also snakes in large numbers:

a) Nonpoisonous snakes: sucuriju (Eunectes murinus), jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris), etc.

b) Poisonous snakes: surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), cascavel (Crotalus terrificus terrificus), jararaca (Lachesis sp.), jararacussu (Bothrops jararacussu Lacerda), cobra-coral (Elaps corallinus Wied.), etc.

II. The Civilized Inhabitants of the Demini-Aracá Region

● 162 In the case of the civilized population, which lives along the lower and middle course, there is a mixture of Indians, whites, Negroes, and mulattoes who make a living as rubber gatherers, palm-fiber gatherers, woodcutters, fishermen, and planters.

Rubber gatherers work exclusively in the Demini river basin, palm-fiber gatherers and woodcutters only in the Aracá region. Planters, fishermen, and a few ambulant traders may be found on terra firma along both rivers. While the rubber gatherers on the Demini live in families far apart from one another, the distances are 10-20 kilometers and more, the woodcutters and palm-fiber gatherers along the Aracá have joined together in small settlements.

Sandra Pakidai

/3 cont./

648 On the Rio Demini, slightly below the Cachoeira (rapids)
484 Auatsinaua, is the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" (Ill. 1).
From the mouth to that point is a six-day journey in a small boat
161 with a four-horsepower outboard motor. On this long stretch
198 there are only two dozen families. Fifty years ago the banks
along the lower third were more densely settled than they are
164 today. But malaria and a terrible beriberi epidemic, 1907/08,
165 carried off the majority of the inhabitants. After the great forest
fire which raged along the Demini in 1926, health conditions
648 improved temporarily. In the most recent times a motor boat
164 of the National Malaria Service travels up the Demini and Aracá
once a year, and the palm-straw huts of the inhabitants are sprayed
with DDT. Nevertheless, malaria still takes its toll. Often it
also leads to a protracted liver ailment; above all, there is a
164 lack of any kind of medication. A second scourge is tuberculosis,
262 the cause of which, aside from the humid, hot climate, may
probably be traced to the poor and unbalanced diet. It consists
predominantly of manioc meal, small fish, the salted, sun-dried
meat of the pirarucu, salted wild-pig meat, and, to a considerably
smaller extent, birds and game, for the men generally do not
have time to hunt. In addition, /4/ for rubber and palm-fiber
gatherers, fruit and vegetables are practically unknown luxuries.
164 As a result of the crowded life of the individual families and the
lack of hygiene, children too are not free from tuberculosis.
Moreover, mention must be made of a dangerous eye infection
which often leads to blindness. This comes about because a fine
dust is constantly trickling down from the palm-straw roofs of the
huts, in which there are many insects, and it gets into the eyes of
the people asleep in their hammocks. An infectious skin disease
that causes light spots on the skin is also widespread. Worm and
intestinal ailments occur frequently, as does syphilis. Finally,
it is noteworthy that adults and children have very poor teeth.
• [162] The reason for this may again probably be sought in the unbalanced
diet, for all of the free Forest Indians who have more variety in
165 their meals, have excellent teeth. Mortality is highest among
the children, and next come the women, a relatively large num-
ber of whom die in childbirth since there is, of course, no medical
assistance.

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Puseheweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726] Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. [115] (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of la. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551 162 [160] The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

/57 cont./

551
162
[802]

Estimated Age (315)

315. These Indians count only to three, so I could only estimate the ages given.

Hewemãõ (316) -- chief and medicine man — 42 years

[123]

316. I was able to learn all the names only after my adoption into the tribe, for they are kept a strict secret from outsiders. But even then the individual men and women themselves never told them to me; I learned the names only from other members of the tribe, and, to be sure, always in a whisper. If they call each other in a loud voice, they use Portuguese names which they have heard from palm-fiber gatherers; I too had to give names to several members of the tribe.

Koentemá -- his first wife (from the Pakidá tribe) — 24 years
Kanikawõ -- son — 8 years
Daughter (has no name yet (317) — 1 year

[553]

317. Children are given their names only after the completion of their third year (see pp. 201 ff.).

Yaripanamá -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe) (She had a daughter who died in infancy.) — 35 years
Maxiuamá -- daughter of Hewemãõ and his former wife Tafmakána, who died in childbirth — 9 years

/57 cont./

551
•162

	Estimated Age
Kurikayawõ -- brother of the chief and later his successor	37 years
Xunamĩ -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe) (She had a son who died as a small child.)	18 years
/58/	
Xomirawõ -- war chief	40 years
Uitimá -- his wife (from the Xamatári tribe)	38 years
Moramanamá -- daughter (married to the Surára Uaxianauwõ)	18 years
Yaxoĩma -- daughter	13 years
Xinarĩ -- his first wife (from the Pakidái tribe, sister of Koentemá)	20 years
Inxinemá -- youngest brother of the chief (bachelor)	19 years
Hemahemá -- son of the deceased eldest brother of Hewemão	25 years
Hanohomá -- warrior	43 years
Unhamĩ -- his wife	24 years
Matuwõ -- son of Hanohomá and his first wife, who died. (Matuwõ is married to Maxiuamá, the nine-year-old daughter of Chief Hewemão.)	17 years
Unariwõ -- warrior	38 years
Yanauemá -- his wife (from the Puseheweterĩ tribe)	35 years
Komitimá -- daughter (second wife of the Surára Hemahemá)	18 years
Rokoahĩma -- daughter	8 years
Cinapemĩ -- mother of Unariwõ	54 years
Toabewõ -- warrior	28 years
Uainomĩ -- his wife (mother of Unhamĩ, see above)	43 years
Raxakewõ -- warrior	32 years
Amarokomá -- his first wife (from the Xiriána tribe) (Two children, a boy and girl, have died.)	24 years
Yaxuramá -- his second wife (from the Puseheweterĩ tribe)	22 years

/58 cont./	Estimated Age
951 Daughter (has no name yet)	3 years
•162 Orateú -- warrior	32 years
Posioubemí -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	23 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 months
Uaxianauwõ -- warrior	24 years
Moramanamá -- his wife (daughter of the war chief)	18 years
Rarorauwõ -- warrior	36 years
Tanyakomí -- his wife (from the Puseheweterí tribe) (Three children, two boys and a girl, died.)	30 years
Rokomá -- mother of Rarorauwõ (oldest Surára woman)	63 years
Anyarawõ -- warrior	29 years
Ranomá -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	20 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	2 years
Xanimá, mother of Anyarawõ	47 years
Poxewõ -- warrior	28 years
Riopemí -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	21 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Hunkawá -- warrior	29 years
Xororimá -- his wife	21 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Koroyewõ -- warrior	31 years
Natororomá -- his wife (from the Puseheweterí tribe)	23 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 years
Werewõ -- warrior	30 years
Makanamá -- his wife (from the Puseheweterí tribe)	22 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	1 year
Ixobewõ -- warrior	31 years
Oikoçimá -- his first wife (from the Xiriána tribe)	28 years
Daughter (has no name yet). The twin brother died.	3 years

Surára
Pakidái

/58 cont./

	Estimated Age
55] 162 Xeramí -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe)	25 years
Xaniwõ -- son	12 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	2 years
Xutumí -- widow	59 years
Haikiamá -- her daughter (likewise a widow)	40 years
Yarikoawõ -- son of Haikiamá (bachelor)	17 years
Katarauwõ -- solitary bachelor	17 years
/59/	
Ikoauwõ -- solitary bachelor	16 years
Jibeauwõ -- orphan boy	9 years
Mauahemá -- orphan boy	8 years
Nikeromá -- female captive (from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí)	15 years

[161] [123] There are somewhat more Pakidái, for they numbered 89. Since my association with them was not quite as close as with the Surára, however, I was able to learn considerably fewer given names. In the following I am presenting those that became known to me:

	Estimated Age
Karenauõ -- chief and medicine man	26 years
Poroamá -- his wife (from the Surára tribe)	20 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Poréhiwõ -- war chief	32 years
Ruxoyetemí -- his first wife (from the Surára tribe)	30 years
Yauetoiwõ -- son	13 years
Xaraíma -- daughter	7 years
Daughter (has no name yet). She was born during my stay	1 month
The second wife of Poréhiwõ left him because of ill treatment and was presumably drowned	
Kaxiribewõ -- warrior (brother of Poréhiwõ)	39 years
Monamí -- his wife	36 years

Pakidái

/59 cont./

	Estimated Age
551 Kuyaromá -- daughter	19 years
●162 Bixewõ -- son	15 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 years
Son (has no name yet). He was born during my visit	1 month
Ironasterí (from the Xiriána tribe) -- wife of Bixewõ	22 years
Yururauwõ -- warrior	28 years
Xekoreimá -- his wife (from the Surára tribe)	28 years
Tenxoyahibewõ -- son. (He is the only Pakidái boy attending the mission school of the Salesians in Barcelos (Rio Negro) and speaks Portuguese well. A river trader took him there. Now he is ashamed of his fellow tribesmen and was not to be persuaded to give any information about them).	14 years
Mihemehumá -- son	5 years
Son (has no name yet)	1 year
Kuatoxemão -- warrior	33 years
Toreheíma -- his first wife (from the Puseheweterí tribe)	26 years
Xiahomá -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe)	21 years
Daughter of Xiahomá (has no name yet)	2 years
Karemouá -- warrior	29 years
Xitiporimá -- his first wife	26 years
Tokorá -- son	8 years
Nyarimá -- daughter	4 years
Kirixoíma -- his second wife (from the Xiriána tribe)	20 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	6 months
Prexemí -- widow (mother of Karemouá)	50 years
Hokotõmarimá -- bachelor (brother of Karemouá; died as the result of an accident during my stay)	19 years
Xoronauwõ -- solitary bachelor	17 years

Casapare
Cariban Indians SR7
Auake 555

A /186 cont./
131 cf. idem, 1922, p. 226) was visited on the Urumamy Falls by
175 a small group of Auaké (Arutani), who pointed out to the explorer that their land was on the source of the Paragua, where
A [[67] they had a communal house. But even by that time the Auaké
A Y [619] (Arutani) had left their southern haunts to the Casapare and had migrated to the north. But a large number merged with the Casapare, and it is very likely that the Arutani of the upper Paragua represent the last vestiges of the Auaké.

A It is useful to stress the fact that both tribes, the Sapé and
101 the Arutani, belong among the primitive groups of South
174 America, and that their idioms constitute independent languages.
648 They have very probably served as buffers between the Caribe
[[99] and the Yanoama, and while the former pushed them from the Paragua to the south, the latter absorbed them or displaced them
C 648 toward the north. The Caribe have had the same function in more recent times, when they were destroyed between the frontiers of white civilization and that of the Yanoama, and today only a few vestiges of these tribes remain.

A Regarding the idioms of the Sapé (Kaliana) and Arutani
197 (Auaké), it is interesting to point out that Loukotka (1935) found
1914 Chibcha vestiges in the Auaké and the Kaliana. If we consider that the Yanoama are related to the Warao and that both have a relatively low cultural level, it is possible to believe in a substratum of marginal tribes with a Chibcha linguistic affiliation, to which the present Warao, Sapé, Arutani, and Yanoama tribes may possibly belong. We shall go into this interesting topic in the section which describes some of the linguistic aspects of the Yanoama /see pp. 38 ff./.

Y The most recent information that we have regarding the
114 Casapare was submitted by the previously mentioned Capuchin fathers, Armellada and Matallana (1942), by Gheerbrandt (1955), and by Montoya (1958).

Y The expedition of the Capuchin fathers was undertaken in
114 1940 with the intention of completing a missionary report on
797 the river and its native population. They went out in search of
● 162 men, and their conclusion that the Paraguá, apart from being a dangerous river and difficult to navigate, did not have large

Avake 555

/186 cont./ indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1942, p. 87) they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

/187/ This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history of the Yanoama. Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Pumpirí, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present volume only in the last decades. The marginal tribes, such as the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Uraricuera River starts.

According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail.

/199 cont./

128 attributed to the other subtribes also, but we do not believe it proper to make an indiscriminate generalization, particularly if we bear in mind that the subtribes seem to be carriers of different subcultures.

101 The Sanemá live on the upper Ventuari, the Erebato, and the Caura. It is therefore a matter of the Sanemadub, Nabadub, and Pubmatari and their various local groups already mentioned in the introduction. We can, to begin with, divide these Sanemá into two groups: those who live in close association with the Makiritare, and those who, although living in the land of the Makiritare, have not been able to establish permanent relationships with them. For which reason it is difficult to record in a definitive and absolute fashion precise demographic data, and we view those which we publish here with certain reservations.

/200/

101 A. Sanemá of the upper Caura (Pubmatari)

●162

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Canaracuni	300	In the border zone there are several nomadic bands with specific names, who accept the term "Sanemá" as a generic name of theirs. They frequently change their stopping places between Brazil and Venezuela.
2. Wanaña	200	
3. Yemekuni	300	
4. Caura source	100	
5. Nomadic bands	500	
Total	1,400 estimated individuals	

162 B. Sanemá of the upper Erebato (Sanemadub)

1. Kariana-sodi	40
2. Wasaña	62
3. Udehuduña	125
4. Kuyuhiña	143
Total	370 individuals counted 1960

/200 cont./

● 162 C. Sanemá of the upper Ventuari (Nabudub)

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Weweña	50	The Nabudub of Ihuduña frequently move between the Ventuari and the Erebato.
2. Wadekuña	80	
3. Mahanaña	50	
4. Ihuduña	200	
Total	380 estimated individuals.	

161 According to this demographic estimation there are approximately 2,150 Sanemá in the zone of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura. We do not know how many Sanemá live on the Padamo.

342 We have seen four different types of houses among the Sanemá: (a) windscreen type, (b) triangular in shape and Makiritare system, (c) rectangular, and (d) oblong. We have found types (a) and (b) together in the same encampment on the Ventuari, facing Caño Mosquito.

342 361 [501] [137] [262] On our trip through that place we saw two Sanemá rafts moored on the bank of the Ventuari. We later climbed a cliff and followed a path which led us to a conuco of the Sanemá. At one end there was a gigantic algarroba tree laden with fruit. Judging from the skins scattered on the ground, we realized that the Sanemá had consumed a great quantity. Near the tree, which in times past offered them /201/ its generous shade, we found a desolate Sanemá encampment. It was made up of five

342 triangular huts and two of the windscreen type. Both types of construction seem to be typical of the Yanoama and are remarkable for their size, somewhat small. For the construction of a triangular cabin six poles 1.60 meters long are needed to serve as posts or supports. Three pairs are made out of them, each bound at the upper end with a bejuco, and with some 30 centimeters left free in order to form a fork. The lower parts of the poles are stuck into the ground at a distance of half a meter. These forks in tepee form with a separation of two meters form a

[824] regular triangle. Three sticks are later placed on the forks, and these support the roof made of platanillo /Musaceae/ leaves. A similar rancho was described by Koch-Grünberg (1923, Pl. 43).

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill
[621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite
554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us,
769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to
628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder,
[266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablf shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be-
[888] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex-
[574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father,
• 162 who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition
855 we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of
000 the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Uaica

This fantastic appellation sounded quite harmonious in the forest, even to Indian ears, and brought Dolfus' followers out of their concealment, splashing through the water towards us.

Dolfus belonged to the Shirians of the Uaka tribe. These are scattered over the territory bounded by the Matacuni, the Padamo and the tributary streams of the Upper Venturari. They are similar in appearance to the Pulipuli people, though rather more savage. They were very timid, and full of references to the Guayca, who they said were very active in this area, particularly in the parts we had just come from.

With Dolfus there was an old man who was always either squatting down or else propping himself up on one leg; and two dour, surly-looking boys, who kept well away from our guns with a gleam of terror in their eyes. The next morning brought a whole host, along with women and children too, and of course we had to let them all examine our beards and rub themselves against them, and investigate other more detailed peculiarities of our anatomy. By urging the whole crowd of them on with sweeping gestures, we managed to get on our way very quickly, and a few hours later arrived on the banks of the Ocamo, a smallish river but strangely resembling the Upper Merevari. From the last high point we had been able to make out some huge flat-topped massifs, blue in the haze of distance, which must certainly have belonged to the Duida-Marahuaca group. For a moment, we hoped to come out on a patch of savannah land where we should be able to dry the damp forest mould out of ourselves and our belongings. But the Shirians told us there was no savannah in these parts.

The Uaka huts were on the side of a hill, a hundred yards from the right bank of the river, which we crossed by means of a length of rotten wood, shaped like a canoe. There were three buildings, each with the single-span sloping roof, very humble affairs, so low-pitched that inside them one risked getting a beam in one's eye at any moment. There were about fifty of these people, and among them we noticed many who had reached a considerable age, which is unusual. There must have been some aspect of the Ocamo region which favoured longevity in the inhabitants. There was an 'ape-man' too—an old, solitary fellow, almost dumb, who came up to us with gurgles of amazement, not daring to touch us. However, he took one of the axes when we gave it to him and with the aid of some of the youngsters started making us a cabin.

Life with the Shirians was made extremely difficult by their petulant ways

Waica
Guaharibo

/437 cont./

Population -- 1953

361 It is known that there are about 23 Guaika /Waica/ settlements between the Orinoco and the Ocamo rivers and in the region of the Brazilian frontier to the north of the Orinoco River.

/438/ It is known that there are at least 28 other Guaika settlements to the south of the Orinoco River.

103 162 The approximate population of the Guaika settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Majekodotedi (Platanal).	100	Kacholaotedi	100
Bichaasatedi	100	Boleitaotedi	100
Lajalaowatedi	100	Patanaotedi	12
Yabitaotedi	75	Chibardiatedi	60

361 At least eight Guajaribo settlements are known to exist in the region of the Ocamo and Lower Padamo rivers. It is known that there are others on the Upper Padamo, a few others on the Ventuari River, and still others on the Upper Caura (also called the Merevari River).

103 162 [114] The approximate population of the Guajaribo settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Ioeitedi	60
Wakawakatedi	100
Kwaisitedi	100

162 The population of El Platanal can be divided by age and sex approximately as follows:

	Men	Women	Total
Great-grandparents	0	1	1
Grandparents	6	6	12
Parents	8	15	23
Newlyweds (childless)	5	6	11
Unmarried adolescents and children	33	21	54
	52	49	101

/439/

582 [163] Girls are usually around 14 or 15 years of age when they have their first child. The husband is perhaps between 16 and 18 years of age, if this is his first marriage.

The adult men frequently take as new wives girls who have just reached puberty.

A boy 15 years old is commonly not considered capable of taking a wife, especially if he has not yet sown his first conuco /a clearing for cultivation/ in order to be able to feed his wife. But even if the planting had been prepared, it is often the case that he has to wait while the older men pick over the girls whom he might have wished to marry.

584 582 Nevertheless, in marriages prearranged with the consent of all before the husband and the wife are of age, it is very probable that the age of both would be almost the same. As a result a boy might marry at an age younger than usual.

● 162 163 Here are some examples of the number of living children per wife among Guaika families. The parentheses indicate the probability that no more children will be born. (Not all of the fathers of the families enumerated are still alive.)

Living children of families of a single wife:

(6) (5) (4) (4) (4) (3) (3) 5 4 4 2 2 2 1 0 0 0 0 0

Living children of polygamous families and families in which a second wife has been taken after the death of the first:

	First Wife	Other Wives
Family "A"	(12)	1
Family "B"	6	2 -- 1 -- 1
Family "C"	(4)	2
Family "D"	(3)	4
Family "E"	2	0

/440/

Communications

202 195 Messages are memorized and carried by a messenger.

All official messages are communicated to the messenger and transmitted by him in a crooned form to the addressee. The addressee of the message repeats the words which are communicated to him or responds by answering them.

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621 [162] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and therefore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups [578] soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123 From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dixies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their [152] fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One [758] of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

595 As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous
162 and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by
578 means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males
684 whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of
838 quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought
201 that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We
123 had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of gestures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

123 In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of
41 ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

302 Both men and women and even the small children paint their
[386] faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not
302 seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which
531 it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred, either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red, while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken themselves.

123 Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or
302 war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company with some whose paint was paling and some who were not even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

* * *

352 The furnishing of Waïka huts is very simple and orderly, each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one
[286] above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from
[283] threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades, while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their
[287] ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of
592 a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when the village is crowded.

162 In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people, which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

121 The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yąnomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data 114 covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the 194 field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yąnomamö in their language.

• 162 Census data on five Yąnomamö villages are presented 847 to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage 595 of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is compli- 834 cated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos 721 and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter- 182 village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

* 621 The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the 613 basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal 578 descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves 562 to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal 000 descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, P. ii]

[Introductory, p. iii;]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

[14]

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yąnomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yąnomamö social organization of this single

Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

---

[1]Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[2]The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

and as many as 250, but the lower extreme is uncommon because of military vulnerability and the upper extreme occurs only when particularly intense warfare retards village splitting or leads to the coalition of several related villages.

Villages that are on peaceful terms may be found living within a few miles of each other, whereas mutually hostile villages rarely are located less than a day's march apart; even then, one of the villages may move to reduce the possibility of raiding.

The village itself is circular or oval in plan, is generally surrounded by a palisade of upright logs and, depending on the number of people living in the village, has a diameter ranging from 15 to 70 yards.

The village is hardly more than a continuous, circular lean-to roof, open at the center. The roof starts at ground level (occasionally one or two feet above ground level), rises at an angle of 30° to 40°, reaching a maximum height of about 25 feet. The un-partitioned segments of the continuous roof are built by the families who occupy them, brothers and their dependents living next to each other. The materials used in construction are long, slender poles, vines to secure the pole frame and a thatch made from leaves.

There are usually several entrances to the village, each located at a point marking the boundary of one segment of the roof with another, and are merely un-thatched sections of the otherwise continuous roof. Most of the entrances are only 3 feet high, although there usually is at least one

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide. There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice. First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

[1] The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, listed in Table 1, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

847 [846] child: he had scrupulously observed the coitus taboo during lactation--the wife had not.

Most cases of infanticide take place when a couple already has a small child. Sickness takes a heavy toll during the early months of a child's life, and women are reluctant to jeopardize a child that has already survived the first two years. So, they frequently kill the new-born so that their older child will have no competition for milk. Bahimi, a woman of some 30 years, killed a new male baby shortly after I started my fieldwork in Bisasi-tedi. She explained, tearfully, that she did not feel that she could successfully raise the new child because she still had a son that was nursing.

847 562 162 These cases do not, however, explain why there is a consistent bias to kill females rather than males. When I discovered how significantly the sex ratio diverged from the expected value of 1.0 in some villages, I tried to get an explanation from the Yąnomamö. I was surprised to find out that they were ignorant of their own bias in killing children. [812] What did come to light, however, was the fact that Yąnomamö prefer to have a male baby for their first child and, if it turns out that the first child is a girl, they will frequently kill her. If, however, a couple prefers to have a girl and the first child is a boy, they generally do not kill the boy.[1]

[114] [582] [1] Whatever the reason may be for the preference toward males as eldest children, there is one structural effect that deserves further enquiry. Rose (1960) effectively showed that where males tend to marry females that are younger than them-

847 562 162 Several kinds of demographic data suggest that the rate of female infanticide is high. Table 1 gives the sex ratios of five Yąnomamö villages. The sex ratio for the total population sample (576 individuals) gives a more meaningful estimate of the rate of female infanticide, as there is considerable variation by village in the value of the sex ratio. The excess of males in the total population (8%) gives a first approximation of the frequency of female infanticide. The variation in the sex ratio by the village, on the other hand, expresses the political relationships of the villages to their allies. That is, the distribution of women in these five villages is a function of the military requirements of the particular villages in the marriage alliance network. Thus, the cline in sex ratio from Reyabobŏwei-tedi to Bisaasi-tedi (ignoring the Patanowä-tedi, who are not allied to the other groups) reflects a dominance gradient in politico-military requirements of each village. The total sample of 576 individuals must be considered in order to estimate the frequency of female infanticide among the Yąnomamö, but the political relationships between the villages must be understood to account for the variation by village of the value

562 162 628 922 [583] 125 847 162 628 562

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 59]

847 562 162 114 582 selves, it is highly unlikely that men will marry a FaSiDa, despite the kinship terminology. Rose did not, however, consider the possibility that sibships may have a systematic bias in their composition; if males tend to be older than their sisters considering all sibships, the probability that a FaSiDa is of marriageable age is increased. I specifically questioned the relationship between female infanticide and FaSiDa marriage, and the Yąnomamö denied any correlation between the two practices. There can be no doubt, however, that the occurrence of FaSiDa marriage among the Yąnomamö is made more probable by female infanticide.

Table 1: Village Size, Male/Female Sex-ratio, and Percentage of Excess Males.

Village Name	Size	Males	Females	Sex-Ratio	% Excess Males
Bayaboböwei-tedi	77	47	30	1.6	22
Mämariböwei-tedi	85	47	38	1.2	11
Patanowä-tedi	212	122	90	1.4	15
Monou-tedi	66	34	32	1.1	3
Bisaasi-tedi	136	62	74	0.8	-9
Totals:	576	312	264		

$\frac{312}{264}$ .....1.2 Total Male/Female Sex-ratio

$\frac{48}{576}$ .....8% Excess of Males

of the sex ratio, and the distribution of the women among them.

In Chapter 5 I will show how the two Shamatari villages, Reyabobŏwei-tedi and Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, participated in a treacherous feast during which they killed a number of their kinsmen from Mŏwäraoba-tedi. This feast committed the two Shamatari villages to an alliance with the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi in which the latter two villages were, in a political-military sense, less dependent on the support of the Shamatari than the Shamatari were on them. The Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi and the Reyabobŏwei-tedi represented the front of the Shamatari expansion into the unoccupied Mavaca River area. The territory they abandoned as they expanded to the west was subsequently occupied by other Shamatari villages, the members of which were historically related to them.[1] By participating in the treacherous feast and becoming enemies to their congeners, the two Shamatari villages subordinated themselves to the interests of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Since they formed a buffer between the villages of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi on the one hand, and the Shamatari village of Mŏwäraoba-tedi on the other, they bore the brunt of the raids mounted by the latter in revenge for the treachery. In short, they had only two dependable allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an im-

[1]See Chapter 5, "The History of Paruritawë-tedi."

Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an imbalance in the exchange of women between the two groups of villages, accounting for the variation in sex-ratio given for the villages in Table 1.

The degree to which each village is dependent on its allies is roughly indicates in Table 1. The Reyabobŏwei-tedi, being closer, geographically, to the Mŏwŏraoba-tedi, suffered more from the revenge raids of the latter. In other words, they needed military aid from their own allies to a greater extent, and have, accordingly, lost far more women to their allies as a consequence. But the true situation is even more remarkable than suggested by the sex ratio for the Reyabobŏwei-tedi; a large percentage of the women in their village have been abducted by them in raids against the Mŏwŏraoba-tedi, i.e., they have actually lost more women to their allies in exchanges than is suggested by the sex-ratio alone.

Again, the sex ratios for the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi are misleading without additional information. These two villages would seem, from Table 1, to have gained a remarkable number of women in the political alliances they made with their Shamatari friends. This, however, is not the only reason they have such a high percentage of women in their populations. In 1950 these villages were victimized by the Mŏwŏraoba-tedi and the Iwahikoroba-tedi in a treacherous feast. They lost approximately 15 men. Were two-thirds of these men alive today, for example, the resultant sex ratios for the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi population would more accurately reflect the dominance gradient, measured

in terms of women ceded to them by the Shamatari, that they maintain over their Shamatari allies.

The sex ratio data give a rough idea, then, of the extent of female infanticide and, in addition, reflect the political relationships of the villages to each other in terms of the flow of women. Other demographic data, however, suggest that the practice of female infanticide is even higher than the sex ratios alone indicate. Table 2 gives the stated cause of death of 240 adult individuals. These individuals are related to the living members of the three villages of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi. It is immediately apparent that more men die in warfare than women,[1] implying that the frequency of female infanticide is substantially higher than the 8% suggested by sex ratio data.

There are several ways the Yanomamö remedy their woman shortage. Young bachelors, for example, practice sodomy (bei kä bosi kuwemou, bei kä bosi waumou) with each other. These relationships develop into a 'buddy' system (äawä) and promote ties of friendship that extend into adult life. Some of my informants confidentially told me that particular young men had been known to copulate with dogs in estrus, but this was regarded with contempt by all who knew about it. Homosexuality, however, was not considered despicable, but it was thought to be infantile. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[1] Twenty-two per cent (31/138) of all male deaths were due to warfare, while only 6% (6/102) of female deaths were due to this cause.

835 terms for a number of men that were, genealogically, her distant agnates. She explained the usage by the fact that she had incestuous relationships with several of them when she was a young woman. KaobawÄ told me that he had incestuous relationships with Hayamamasimi, his FaBrDa, but did not want the others in the village to know about it. In another case, a man married three girls who were his FaBrSoSoDa, i.e., his 'granddaughters.' The YanomamÖ explanation of this case illustrates the relationship of the woman shortage to warfare and alliance. The people in question all live in PatanowÄ-tedi, a village that has numerous enemies, only one ally, and a serious woman shortage. The parents of the girls in question did not want them to marry into the village of the allies, as they had given a number of women to the allies already. The man, IshiweiwÄ, had no spouse and could not get one from the allies. So, the parents of the girls stopped calling IshiweiwÄ by the appropriate consanguineal terms and began calling him by affinal terms suited to the marriage of the three girls to him. The girls, in turn, stopped calling him grandfather. IshiweiwÄ married just one of the girls at first; after she died, he married the other two, as he already called them 'wife' by virtue of the fact that he had married their sister. The initial marriage was the major hurdle. After he married the first girl and the kinship terms were

---

835 the mother-in-law category are not avoided, nor are FaSi or MoBrWi. The implications of this last fact for Homans and Schneider's work are obvious.

835 investigated discrepant kinship usage I found that the termi-
601 nology changed because of incestuous relationships between my
183 informant (or his close kinsman) and the members of the local lineage in question. I have not investigated all discrepant usages, but the high incidence of the terminological aberrations suggests that incest is widely practiced.

835 Incestuous affairs and marriages occur largely because
601 of the woman shortage. I have already mentioned that Ishiweiwä
183 of Patanowä-tedi married his three 'granddaughters' because he
582 could not find a wife of the appropriate category. A similar
[162] situation occurred in Bisaasi-tedi. Reromawä, one of the
[562] important men in the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi, has redefined a number of his classificatory daughters as sisters,[1] thereby making it possible for his sons to marry their children, otherwise incestuous marriages. His oldest son, Bäkäböwä, technically married his FaDaDa, but because his father had redefined the mother of Bäkäböwä's wife as 'sister,' the marriage was appropriate within their marriage rules.

837 The woman shortage is remedied by illicit affairs
621 within the village. These affairs are the major cause of
578 feuds and village splits. During the 15 months covered by
[721] my field work five club-fights occurred. Four of them were over women who had been caught in illicit affairs, and in one case, the village split into hostile factions that began

---

[1] See Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of this.

raiding each other.[1]

That the shortage of women is the basis of internal feuding is illustrated by a practice recently adopted by members of the New Tribes Mission working in the village of Kosholowä-tedi, a small village on the Padamo River. The missionaries had a major problem with club-fighting within the village, most of which developed out of sexual liasons between married women and married men. The missionaries began an active campaign aimed at changing the coitus taboos during pregnancy and lactation. They were successful in their efforts, and the major result was that fighting was almost completely stopped. (Another result was a sharp increase in births.)

Village size and composition have an effect on the number of sexual liaisons within a village, as illicit affairs are more difficult to discover in large villages. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, as can be seen from Table 1, have less of a woman shortage than the other villages. Nevertheless, fights over women do break out in these villages. One of the clubfights I witnessed took place between two groups of Monou-tedi men in the village of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the Monou-tedi men had wanted to carry on an affair with the wife of Konoreiwä, another man of his village, but was unable to do so while the Monou-tedi lived in their own village. Once when the Monou-tedi moved to Bisaasi-tedi to

---

[1] See Chapter 5, Tables 5 and 6, for a summary of the causes of village splits and hostilities.

avoid the raids from the PatanowÃ-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with KonoreiwÃ's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by KonoreiwÃ. The entire village participated in the club fight. KonoreiwÃ punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the PatanowÃ-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the PatanowÃ-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the PatanowÃ-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

726 628 knowing that they would not be raided in return; the Patanowä-tedi simply could not conduct the war on that immense a scale. The participation of these peripheral villages in the war against the Patanowä-tedi conferred three advantages on them. First, the probability was good that they would benefit materially in the raiding by capturing women. Secondly, they demonstrated their solidarity to their allies at little cost or danger to themselves, thereby putting these allies under obligation to reciprocate the favor at a later time. Finally, the peripheral villages were able to demonstrate their ferocity to their neighbors by going to war, although the danger to themselves was almost negligible. In total, about a dozen villages began raiding the Patanowä-tedi in mid 1965, forcing them to abandon their garden before they could establish a new one elsewhere. The Patanowä-tedi had no alternative but to take refuge in the village of their allies, the Ashadowä-tedi. Without the aid of the Ashadowä-tedi, the Patanowä-tedi would have been forced to colonize from their single site and sustain very heavy losses from the incessant raids of their enemies. As the situation turned out, the Patanowä-tedi lost a large number of people in the raiding, despite having this ally, but the losses would have been much heavier without them.

726 922 628 361 241

162 552 [847] [83] Summary

The practice of female infanticide leads to a shortage of women. The Yanomamö attempt to overcome the shortage,

162 562 83 sexually, by the practices of sodomy, wife sharing, incest, and permitted affairs. However, two ways in which the problem 162 562 583 847 721 722 *628 is resolved--clandestine affairs within villages and raiding to abduct women between villages--create political situations that favor the development of political alliances for the purposes of defense. Since these involve the transfer of women between the allies, the practice of female infanticide constitutes a functional component in the marriage alliance system.

*621 *628 578 241 722 The process of village splitting, growing out of feuds over women, results in the establishment of small, militarily vulnerable villages. The timing of the split is conditioned by the agricultural requirements of the village on the one hand, and the nature of its politico-military relationships with other villages on the other. The graded system of violence permits flexibility in the settlement pattern and the precise conditions of a village split. Because the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated foods, alliances may be interpreted as an attempt to maximize the chances of survival of groups of kinsmen as independent groups; the possibility always exists that a given group may be forced by its enemies to seek protection and provisions in the village of an ally.

613 In addition to genealogical distance and size of
• 162 descent groups, demographic factors promote ambiguity in the relationships between males within a local descent group. For reasons of differential fertility, infanticide, warfare mortality, or chance, some local descent groups are larger than others (contain more males) and are, therefore, more powerful. Others may be relatively large, but contain more females than males. Still others may be very small and contain either all males or
613 all females. Since Yanomamö kinship terminology is classificatory
601 (Iroquois), all agnatically related males of the same generation
602 call each other 'brother'; parallel cousins, no matter how remote genealogically, are not terminologically distinguished from brothers. Despite the terminological usage, relationships between such agnates varies considerably.

613 Problems of agnatic priority in the disposition of
602 females arise, for example, when a man with no actual brothers
*621 gives his daughters away in marriage. If he has sons, the
584 sons would prefer that the girls be given to members of other
582 local descent groups who are most likely able to reciprocate with women. As the father has no actual brothers, his more distant agnates put pressure on him to give the girls to a descent group to which they themselves are linked by marriage ties, for they stand to benefit by future reciprocities. Situations such as this arise when a single man finds himself in the same village with a group of agnates that are distantly related to him, but who themselves constitute an important political bloc within the village. Although the agnates are

128 extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yanomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0. I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relationship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

128 that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of
*621 two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.
613

* 162 There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is
*621 not representative of the typical Yąnomamö village: the sex
*628 ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as
562 there are males in the village, and the group is politically
583 stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mąmariböwei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises
[529] two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed
[574] in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of
[726] Bisaasi-tedi.

*621 The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a
622 number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More
613 importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to
602 each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawä, has astutely manipulated

---

128 logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a
*621 number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity
*628 of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace
613 their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawä-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

*628 [602] Lower Bisaasi-tedi gave its members refuge during the times when the Monou-tedi were threatened by raids from the Patanowä-tedi. The closest neighbor, geographically, to Lower Bisaasi-[361] [613] tedi is Upper Bisaasi-tedi (a mere 400 meters upstream), the dominant political group of that village being a segment of the Sha lineage. The two villages, however, behave quite independently in their alliance patterns. Lower Bisaasi-tedi's political interests are in the Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi at the present time, whereas Upper Bisaasi-tedi's interests are in the *628 726 Reyabobǫwei-tedi, Karohi-tedi, and Widokaiya-tedi. In the war against the Patanowä-tedi, both the Lower and Upper Bisaasi-tedi aid the Monou-tedi by providing warriors for the raiding parties, and by giving refuge to the Monou-tedi when raiding is particularly intense.

*621 162 562 571 Lower Bisaasi-tedi is a cohesive, well-integrated, stable village. Much of the stability and cohesiveness derives from the fact that there is not a shortage of women and there are well-defined patterns of behavior for all members *628 722 vis-à-vis others. But, Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not a militarily viable group. It could not last long as an independent village if the warfare situation became intense; the group is not completely independent of the Upper Bisaasi-tedi village. At least once during my field work the Lower Bisaasi-tedi group coalesced with the Upper group when a raid from the Patanowä-tedi seemed imminent. And, if raiding from the Patanowä-tedi began, the group would have to merge with Upper Bisaasi-tedi for defense purposes. When I began my field work in 1964,

*621 It is more than coincidental that the composition of both
*628 Monou-tedi and Patanowë-tedi is more similar in terms of Sha
613 and Hor lineages than the similarity between any other two
602 Namowei-tedi villages. Patanowë-tedi is merely an enlarged version of Monou-tedi in composition, there being more agnatic ties between these two groups in the Hor and Sha lineages than between any other pair of Namowei-tedi villages. Yet the hostilities between them are very intense.

*621 B. Village Size and Warfare
• 162

Yąnomamö villages range in size from 40 to 250 individuals. Both limits are determined by the nature of Yąnomamö warfare, but the upper limit is set in large measure by the capacity of kinship and leadership to organize the internal affairs of the village. This capacity diminishes as village size increases.

*621 The largest Yąnomamö village for which I have complete
162 census data is Patanowë-tedi, a group comprising 212 indi-
722 viduals. The Patanowë-tedi assert that their southern neighbors and allies, the Ashadowë-tedi, are even more numerous, and that a number of Shamatari villages are, in turn, larger than Ashadowë-tedi. It is doubtful, however, that the numbers involved excede 250 per village. Villages of this size, as we have mentioned for Patanowë-tedi, tend to fragment into smaller groups when threat of war subsides, and these smaller groups re-combine to form a larger village when warfare again threatens one or all of the colonies. The reason villages

*621 722 162 never get larger than 250 seems to lie in the fact that there is no military advantage to be gained in increasing village size beyond this point, while at the same time, further increase in size creates organizational difficulties that threaten the internal stability of the village.

*621 722 721 701 Size of raiding parties and tactics of warfare must be understood to appreciate why villages of 250 do not gain military advantages by increasing in size, and why village size can not drop below 40. The median size of Yąnomamö villages lies between 80 and 100 people. A village of this size can organize raiding parties ranging in size from about 20 to 30 men, as approximately one-third of the village residents are males between the ages of 14 and 50, the group from which the raiding parties are recruited. As no village leaves the women unguarded when it mounts a raid on its enemies, the size of raiding parties tends to be lower than the number of *621 162 eligible men able to raid.[1] Table 4 gives the population break-down of five Yąnomamö villages by age and sex. The males between the ages of 14 and 50 comprise 32.5% of the *621 701 721 population (19.6 plus 12.9). Thus, a raiding party comprised exclusively of men from a single village having a total population of 100 will not excede 33 men; but, the raiding party would include a large number of youths who have no raiding experience, and older men who are not able to move rapidly. These men constitute more of a handicap than an asset to the

[1]See Plate 2. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 136]

Table 4: Age and Sex Distribution of the Yanomamö Population.[1]

*62
162

Frequency Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	55	48	103	68	14	288
Females	36	42	77	60	23	238
Totals:	91	90	190	128	37	526

Percentage Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	10.5	9.1	19.6	12.9	2.7	54.8
Females	6.8	8.0	14.6	11.4	4.4	45.2
Totals:	17.3	17.1	34.2	24.3	7.1	100.0

[114] [128] [1]Based on residents of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, Patanowä-tedi, Mämariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi. I was not able to get age estimates on a number of individuals in Reyaboböwei-tedi and Patanowä-tedi, accounting for the difference in total population given in Table 5, Chapter IV. The sex ratio for the above population is 1.22, and male excess is 9.5%, compared to 1.19 and 8.35% in Table 5.

*62
70
72
[122] effectiveness of the raiding party. As someone must stay home to guard the women, the guards usually come from the too young and too old. Usually, however, one or two '<u>waitedi</u>' (fierce ones), men who have a great deal of experience in warfare and who would bravely defend the village, also remain behind. Thus, a village of 100 people could, at best,

000 has several enemies.

*621 *628 701 721 722 [162] I pointed out that Lower Bisaasi-tedi was not a militarily viable village, although its total population falls within the range of such villages. An examination of the village composition given in Appendix A will show that there are only 12 men between the ages of 14 and 50, and not all of these would be effective in a raiding party. Some of these men would have to remain home to guard the women, reducing the capability of the village to mount raids against enemies even more, as the size of the raiding party would have to be smaller than ten men. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-tedi depends on assistance from its allies in their warfare and could not survive as an independent village. Should their enemies (the Patanowä-tedi) begin raiding them frequently, they would have to reunite with their agnates, the Upper Bisaasi-tedi. As a matter of fact, they did exactly this whenever raids from the Patanowä-tedi threatened them. The [162] Monou-tedi have 21 males between the ages of 14 and 50, but two of these are cripples. Nevertheless, they are much more capable of maintaining a separate existence than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, despite the fact that the difference in size of the two villages is not great. The significant fact is that they have a larger number of men capable of conducting *621 *628 722 [361] raids. However, their size has not permitted them to effectively withstand the raids mounted against them by the Patanowä-tedi, and the Monou-tedi were forced to move to a new site by the raids stemming from their enemies. Without the

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

---

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticising the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

10:Chagnon B-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

APPENDIX A

F621
C13
.162

VILLAGE COMPOSITION AND GENEALOGY OF LOWER BISAASI-TEDI

1. Lower Bisaasi-tedi

Lineage	Male	Female	Totals
Sha	9	7	16
Tom	9	3	12
Mor	1	2	3
Kio	2	4	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	1	1	2
Total	25	26	51

2. Upper Bisaasi-tedi

Sha	11	13	24
Mor	8	5	13
Kio	5	11	16
Kah	5	3	8
Shamatari	3	7	10
Rob	0	1	1
Other	5	8	13
Total	37	48	85

3. Monou-tedi

Sha	11	9	20
Mor	15	8	23
Kio	3	3	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	2	3	5
Total	34	32	66

209

*621
613
162

4. Patanowë-tedi

Lineage	Male	Female	Total
Hor	58	33	91
Sha	25	14	39
Rob	14	15	29
Kah	17	8	25
Kar	1	3	4
Shamatari	2	6	8
Ashadowë-tedi	0	5	5
Other	5	6	11
Total	122	90	212

*621 162 561 613 Lower Bisaasi-tedi inhabitants. (Numbers preceding names correspond to those next to individuals given in genealogies.)

Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
1. Ahimi	Hor	F	20	
2. Ahimi's son	Sha	M	0.2	
3. Auhewë	Tom	M	25	
4. Auhewë's son	Tom	M	1	
5. Auma	Kio	M	21	
6. Bäkëböwë	Sha	M	29	Becoming headman
7. Bäkëböwë's da.	Sha	F	1	
8. Boarama	Shamatari	F	6	Alliance
9. Bokosiwë	Sha	M	23	
10. Caraca-tedi	Sha	M	3	
11. Didihoma	-	F	5	See p. 213
12. Dimörama	Shamatari	F	20	See p. 213
13. Dodoiwë	Tom	M	52	
14. Heihunioma	Sha	F	19	
15. Hekëwaiyowë	Sha	M	2	
16. Hesiwë	Tom	M	65	
17. Hikarima	Shamatari	F	36	Abducted
18. Hoahemi	Kio	F	52	
19. Huimashima	Sha	F	6	
20. Irokaweikë	Sha	M	20	
21. Kakoma	Sha	F	19	Abducted, see p. 213
22. Kakoma's da.	Kio	F	0.1	
23. Katabema	Shamatari	F	3	See p. 213
24. Kpobauwë	Kio	M	26	
25. Krëömi	Kio	F	20	
26. Mamorakomi	Shamatari	F	34	See p. 214
27. Mamoshiklabema	Tom	M	4	
28. Manasinawë	-	M	56	See p. 214
29. Mioremi	Sha	F	28	
30. Monokoiwë	Tom	M	13	
31. Monomi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance

	Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
32.	Monomi's Da.	Tom	F	0.2	
33.	Makakami	Sha	F	56	
34.	Miaiyowä	Sha	M	14	
35.	Ömonoiwä	Tom	M	28	
36.	Reromawä	Sha	M	53	Headman
37.	Rosa	Sha	F	8	
38.	Ruwisa	Tom	F	7	
39.	Shiborowä	Shamatari	M	35	See p. 214
40.	Tiaböwä	Shamatari	M	5	See p. 214
41.	Tomahewä	Tom	M	21	
42.	Tomasi	Tom	M	6	
43.	Ugushi	Hor	M	22	
44.	Waiimi	Hor	F	21	
45.	Waiyamobemi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance
46.	Waiyamobemi's son	Sha	M	0.5	
47.	Waiyuruma	Shamatari	F	50	Abducted
48.	Wakarabewä	Shamatari	M	16	Son-in-law to #6
49.	Yäbänäma	Kio	F	33	
50.	Yareama	Shamatari	F	2	See p. 214
51.	Yotoma	Tom	F	24	

Comments on particular individuals

1. Ahimi. Her present husband (Bokosiwä) visited the Patanowä-tedi within the past 5 years. Ahimi then lived in Patanowä-tedi and was married to a Sha man there (Makoakuwä), by whom she had already had one daughter (Huimashima). When Bokosiwä returned to Bisaasi-tedi, Ahimi followed him, taking her daughter with her, and became Bokosiwä's wife. As the Patanowä-tedi were technically at war with the Bisaasi-tedi, there was not much they could do to recover the woman. As they also wanted to make peace with Bisaasi-tedi, they did not press the matter.

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and way of life.

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ə] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ö] vowel are pronounced as that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąobewä would be pronounced "cow-bo-wuh," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

TABLE 3-1

VILLAGE COMPOSITION BY LINEAGE MEMBERSHIP*

Lineage	Male	Female	Total
A. Lower Bisaasi-teri			
Sha	9	7	16
Tom	9	3	12
Hor	1	2	3
Kio	2	4	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	1	1	2
	25	26	51
B. Upper Bisaasi-teri (Kaobawä's group)			
Sha	11	14	25
Hor	8	5	13
Kio	5	11	16
Kah	5	3	8
Shamatari	3	7	10
Other	5	8	13
	37	48	85
C. Monou-teri			
Sha	11	9	20
Hor	15	8	23
Kio	3	3	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	2	3	5
	34	32	66
D. Patanowä-teri			
Hor	58	33	91
Sha	39	29	68
Kah	17	8	25
Kar	1	3	4
Shamatari	2	6	8
Other	5	11	16
	122	90	212

*Revised version of Appendix A, Chagnon 1966.

transaction. Still, he took the girl. When domestic tranquility could no longer be maintained, he passed her on to his younger brother.

The relationship between a man and his brothers of approximately the same age are generally not amicable. Brothers of the same approximate age tend to be jealous of each other and treat one another with considerable reserve and respect. A man can directly ask an immature younger brother to execute some task for him, but he can

TABLE 3–3
SEX-RATIO DATA ON SELECTED VILLAGES

	Males	Females	Totals
Upper Bisaasi-teri	37	48	85
Lower Bisaasi-teri	25	26	51
Monou-teri	34	32	66
Reyaboböwei-teri	52	46	98
Mõmariböwei-teri	50	46	96
Patanowä-teri	122	90	212
Aikam-teri and Roko-teri	129	103	232
	449	391	840

Table 3–3 gives sex-ratio data on seven groups of Yąnomamö. The first three villages are not truly representative of the population in general, but are included because they have been frequently discussed in the text.

They are not representative because some 15 men from these villages were killed in a single treacherous feast in 1950, a significant fraction of the adult male population. These feasts are not very frequent. The three groups are allied to each other and have been extremely successful at coercing two neighboring Shamatari villages out of women; a surprisingly high proportion of their women come from these allies. As we shall see, they have been successful because of the geographical and historical relationships that characterize the alliance network in this area.

DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS As is apparent, there are more males in the Yąnomamö population than females. This demographic fact results from the practice of selectively killing female babies: *female infanticide.* The Yąnomamö also practice male infanticide, but because of the preference to have a male as their first child, they unknowingly kill more females than males. The Yąnomamö have only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. They are, accordingly, poor statisticians. They are quite unaware of the fact that they do kill more female babies, and every time I questioned them about it, they insisted that they killed both kinds—"more-than-two" of both kinds.

A child is killed at birth, irrespective of its sex, if the mother already has a nursing baby. They rationalize the practice by asserting that the new infant would probably die anyway, since its older sibling would drink most of the milk. They are most reluctant to jeopardize the health and safety of a nursing child by weaning it before it is three years old or so, preferring to kill the competitor instead. Kąobawä's wife, Bahimi, killed a newborn male shortly after I began my fieldwork. She later told me, quite tearfully, that it would have taken milk away from Ariwari, Kąobawä's favorite child. Ariwari at the time was over two years old, but Bahimi refused to wean him. Sometimes a child is killed simply because the mother doesn't feel that she can care for it properly and that it would be an inconvenience to have to tend a baby. I once saw a plump, well-fed, young mother eating a large quantity of food that would have been suitable to give to an older infant. Her emaciated, filthy, and nearly starved child—about two years old—kept reaching out for the food. The mother explained that the baby had gotten a bad case of diarrhea some time ago and had stopped eating. As a consequence, her milk dried up. She refused to attempt to feed it other foods because "it did not know how to eat other foods." When

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3-3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebawä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3-3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawä, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisaasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yąnomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kąobawä's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kąobawä's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2–8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowä-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowä-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowä-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwä, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowä-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowä-teri fissioned into two groups: They relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.